The dominance of the Lisbon agreement as a barrier for an environmentally oriented transport policy in Europe; the gap between theory and implementation in policy integration

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Abstract

There is an increasing demand for policy integration in a number of policy areas. This is also the case when it comes to the ambition to realize a sustainable transport system, where seemingly contrasting issues such as economic growth and the related negative effects, increasing emissions for example, have to be brought together. This article deals with the theory of policy integration and reviews selected policy documents at the European level, with the attempt to draw conclusions about the success and inadequacies of actual policies when it comes to policy integration. With two illustrations, one showing the efforts to introduce biofuels and another focusing on the introduction of new and more strict emission standards, the authors present the difficulties that exist. Based on interviews with policy-makers at the European Commission, the authors present empirical evidence of the barriers. This evidence is the basis for an analysis and better understanding of the factors that influence present EU-policymaking in the field of sustainable transport and leads to the conclusion that there is a danger that the Lisbon objective (i.e. "competitive Europe") prevails on the Gothenburg objective (i.e. "sustainable Europe") and that this has a negative effect on the implementation of a European sustainable transport policy.

Keywords: Policy Integration, Sustainable Transport, EU.

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1. Introduction

Since the founding of the European Economic Union in 1957, transport has been perceived as an important driving force contributing to the objective of creating one single European Market. Stimulated by the sectoral transport policy of the European Commission, the transport sector has shown, for decades now, an unprecedented growth.

The significant external effects related to the benefits of transport, such as environmental considerations and increasing congestion, have led to a change in the scope of policies and there is an increasing need for the integration of the different policy fields that deal with the wider context of transportation systems. This trend has developed over the last 10 years and can be considered as a reaction to previous policies that were characterized by central steering, a hierarchical set of relations and the autonomous sectoral policy developments for specific domains such as transportation, environmental and spatial policies.

In this article we describe the theory of policy integration and analyse how it works in practice. Section 2 deals with the different theoretical concepts of policy integration. In Section 3 the establishment of the EU is discussed, based on policy document analysis, with special emphasis on the different trends in policy-making. An important trend in this context is the shift from sectoral policy-making to a more integrated approach. In Section 4 the authors give an example of the current 'integrated' approach in practice, focusing on the ambition to achieve a sustainable transport system. It shows that at several points there is a lack of integration and that the drive towards an integrated approach seems to have stagnated. In Section 5 an analysis of this stagnation is presented. This section is based on semi-structured interviews with 12 policymakers from different DGs (varying from DG Transport and Energy (TREN) to DG Environment (ENV) and DG Research) and a member of parliament. In most cases the interviewed policymakers were very open to us. This openness, however, comes at a price, as we were not allowed to record most of the interviews and the authors had to agree to use only anonymous quotes. A report was made after every interview which was corroborated by the interviewees. Although the information we gained is not directly traceable and therefore scientifically less strong, we were given some interesting insights and information that we would not have received if the paper had been written based only on the extended literature available. Finally, in Section 6, conclusions are drawn.

2. The theory of policy integration

Policy integration has been on the EU agenda since the early 1980s, particularly since the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED),[1] and

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[1] Principle 4 of the declaration from the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development states that "in order to achieve sustainable development, environmental protection shall constitute an integral part of the development process and cannot be considered in isolation from it" (United Nations, 1992).

has gained in profile through a series of environmental action programs, and in the inclusion and strengthening of the integration requirement in successive amendments to the EC Treaty[2]. The need for cooperation and new instruments is reflected in present policy-making in the EU and the member states of the EU. In the White Paper on Governance (2001c)[3] it is stated that there are big challenges ahead in the field of subsidiarity, decentralization, the public-private interface, consultation standards and procedures and coherence of policies. But the biggest challenge was the enlargement of the European Union with 12 new member states in 2005[4]. It concerns the integration of 12 new countries and 100 million new European citizens.

This important and structural change requires a redefinition of European institutions. In this paper we concentrate on the integration of transport, land use planning and environmental policies on the European level. Policy integration concerning transport directed by several DGs, has been an area of interest at the European level for some time. There are several areas that are key to the development and future of transport policy, environmental policy and spatial policy which are beyond the scope of this paper, but the Commission itself indicates their challenges for the coming decennium. For instance, there is a Joint Expert Group on Transport and Environment 2000 that is looking at changes in the transport policy in combination with measures in other policy areas to obtain more sustainable development. The Cardiff process, initiated at the EU-council meeting in Cardiff in 1998, aimed to integrate environmental concerns into transport policy. Since then the idea of sustainability has been implemented in the EU-treaty and at the Stockholm Summer in 2001 the European Union's Sustainable Development Strategy was published. In the White Paper on European Transport is stated "*a modern transport system must be sustainable from an economic and social, as well as an environmental viewpoint.*"

At the beginning of the 21st century two OECD reports referred to policy coordination (see Stead and Geerlings, 2005 for a thorough analysis). The first, which focuses on policies to enhance sustainable development, includes analysis and advice on how governments can develop integrated approaches to decision-making (OECD, 2001a). The second, a report on critical issues for sustainable development, talks about the need for greater policy coherence and the better integration of economic, environmental and social goals in different policies and identifies three distinct organizational approaches for the integration of sustainable development into policy (OECD 2001b):

- *coordination approaches* (such as inter-ministerial working groups)
- *structural approaches* concerning internal institutional arrangements (such as departmental mergers)
- *strategic approaches* (such as shared agendas).

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[2] Article 6 of the Amsterdam Treaty, signed in 1997, places integration among the main principles, and clearly links integration with the promotion of sustainable development. The emphasis placed on integration by the Treaty came at a time when there was a growing realization of the inadequacy of environmental policy *per se* in tackling the underlying causes of environmental degradation caused by other sectoral policies and activities.

[3] The White Paper on Governance makes recommendations in three areas: (i) with regard to participation and openness of policy-making and decision making; (ii) with respect to coherence and effectiveness of policies; and (iii) with respect to the division of powers between European institutions.

[4] The Laeken European Council (December 2001) agreed that 10 applicant countries would reach the accession criteria (Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Malta, Hungary and Poland. Bulgaria and Romania reached this goal in January 2007.

Within the literature concerning the theory on policy integration various concepts can be found (for a more detailed review see Geerlings and Stead, 2003). These include *coherent policy-making, cross-cutting policy-making*, *policy co-ordination* and *holistic government*, also known as *joined-up policy* or *joined-up government*. Whilst some authors see policy co-ordination as more or less the same as integrated policy-making, others regard them as quite separate and distinct. The OECD, for example, observes that policy integration is quite distinct and more sophisticated than policy co-ordination in two ways: (i) the level of interaction; and (ii) the output (OECD, 1996). Stead et al (2004) distinguish between a number of distinct terms and suggest a hierarchy of these terms:

- *policy co-operation*, at the lowest level, which simply implies dialogue and information
- *policy co-ordination*, *policy coherence* and *policy consistency* – all quite similar, implying co-operation plus transparency and some attempt to avoid policy conflicts (but not necessarily the use of similar goals)
- *policy integration* and *joined-up policy* – includes dialogue and information (as in policy co-operation), transparency and avoidance of policy conflicts (as in policy co-ordination, policy coherence and policy consistency) but also includes joint working, attempts to create synergies between policies (win-win situations) and the use of the same goals to formulate policy.
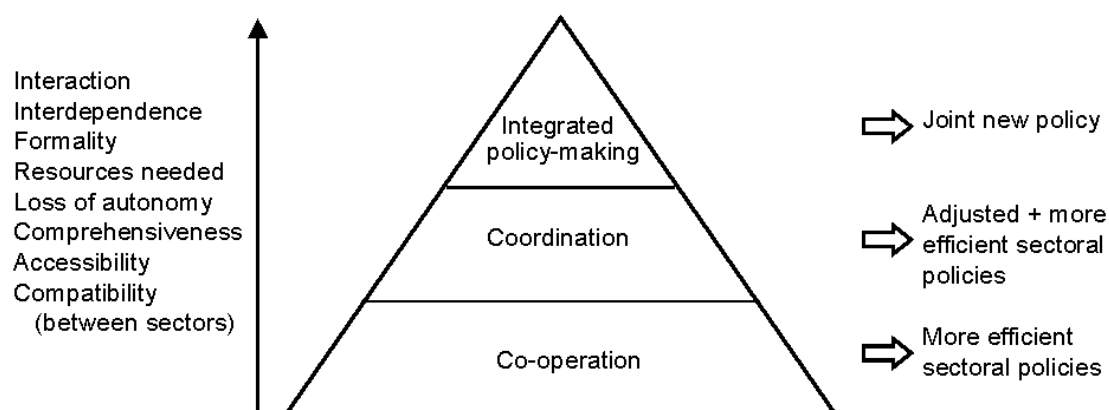

Figure 1: Different levels of policy co-operation and integration

Other related concepts in the organisational literature that have potential relevance concerning policy integration include *inter-organisational co-ordination, inter-organisational collaboration*, *inter-governmental management* and *network management* . These related concepts primarily concern co-operation between organisations, rather than co-operation between departments within one organisation but are nevertheless also relevant since inter-organisational policy-making and intra-organisational policy-making are to a considerable extent similar when it comes to integrating issues that are cross-sectoral. After all, within one organisation, different sectoral departments often operate as different organisations with their own specific professional styles, approaches, needs, agendas and modes of operation.

These experiences led to a new paradigm for policy-making. Bulmer and Radaelli (2004) underlined the need for coordination and integration.

There are 3 patterns of governance that determine how the European Commission realizes integration.

- *governance by negotiation*: this refers to the mechanisms of 'uploading' (or vertical policies) national policy preferences by bargaining processes among nation states. National preferences and rules are inserted into EU-negotiations. This entails essentially European Integration, but anticipation of
- *governance by hierarchy*: the importance is stressed of powerful institutions such as the decisions by the Council, EC (directives, guidelines) and ECJ (judicial decisions). The effective power is strongly dependant on

    a) a positive integration regime, for instance by *law making,* as a substitute for national legislation and government intervention. The EU policy template has to be downloaded to the member state level. The EC has to ensure that rules are properly implemented. This leads to supremacy of EU law, coercive natures, sanctions, etc.

    b) a negative integration regime by *market making*: this concentrates on the removal of national rules and barriers, with the emphasis on market-making rather than rule-making. EC and ECJ are in this case the market-arbiters.
- *facilitated coordination:* this refers to policy areas where national governments are the key actors, and are not/hardly subject to EU law. Formal rule for this policy is the principle of unanimity. Factually it is based on soft law making and declaratory policy. The EU institutions have weak powers here. Cross fertilization of ideas and goals and learning principles are important. The aim is definitely convergence.

3. The establishment of the EU-transport policy

3.1. The historic background

The 1957 Treaty of Rome, which marked the foundation of the European Economic Community (EEC)[5] stated that the aims of the EEC would be "*to take care of the continuous improvement of the living and working conditions of its population*" and that at the same time the EEC would strive for the "*harmonious development of her economies*". This might suggest a balanced approach but in practice the emphasis in policy-making was mainly on economic development and the attention given to non-economic issues took second place. Looking back it can be concluded that, in the early days of EEU policy-making, the policies were based on a sectoral approach in which transport was strongly valued as a driving force for economic prosperity. The free movement of people and goods was, as a stimulus for the creation of a single European market (one of the pillars of Treaty of Rome), strongly enhanced.

The attention given to the European environmental and spatial policy was meager. Transportation, probably due to the fact that policy makers were not aware of the negative external effects, was not considered as an area of political priority. In 1972, it was agreed by the Community Heads of State at the Paris Summit that economic expansion should be accompanied by an improvement in the 'quality of life' and it was

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[5] The *Treaty of Rome* was agreed by the 6 founding countries: Belgium, France, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands and West Germany.

therefore agreed that more attention should be paid to environmental issues. At this time, however, there was a strong sectoral approach to policy-making. This was traditionally the case in transport policy. Even though transport was perceived as an important element in economic prosperity, the policy initiatives were not embedded in a well-structured approach.

3.2. From specialization and harmonization to coordination

An important change took place in 1986 with the amendment of the *Single European Act*. In that year a decision about the creation of a single European market was made. The name of the European Economic Community (EEC) changed to European Community (EC) to stress the balanced approach of policy issues. There was also the increasing awareness that creating a single market would generate new requirements for policy-making, such as stronger coordination rather than further specialization. It was also clear that unification would lead to a single market with economic advantages where transportation would play an important role, but, as a consequence, other policies such as spatial policy would deserve more attention as well. As a result, since 1986 environmental policies and land-use planning have also been recognized as important domains.

A number of interesting trends in policy-making can be observed since the 1980's. The recognition of new domains required new approaches for policy documents, policy instruments, data and research activities (see also section 2). Harmonization and *co-operation* of various policies became important. For instance in transport a Common Transport Policy was launched (CTP). It was published in 1985 with the White Paper on the Completion of the Internal Market. In the period between 1985-1991 the Commission initiated more than a dozen directives and regulations in an attempt to establish more harmonization .[6] Harmonization means in this respect that different policy initiatives were judged on whether they were contradictory to each other or not in order to make them more effective. Attention was given to new policy initiatives, the development of policy instruments and the development of research initiatives that would support this broadening of the policy area.

Since the mid-1990s, it has become clear that harmonization and co-operation was not enough. For instance, it became clear that the structural foundations for southern European countries led to the construction of new infrastructure but at the same time the environmental policies had to be strengthened because of damage to the natural landscape.

As a result of these difficulties, the dominant paradigm changed to *coordination* in the nineties (longer term policies and preventative policies for example). This development is reflected in policy papers and research programs.[7] It was later recognized that a reinvention of policy-making was also needed as a consequence of the proposed expansion of the European Community. From the environmental perspective for

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[6] Amongst them important ones such as CD 440/91 on the development of railways and CR 3820/85 on the harmonisation related to road transport. Furthermore three liberal packages on air transport were launched.

[7] See for example Energy for a New Century (Commission of the European Communities, 1990a), Towards Sustainable Mobility (Commission of the European Communities, 1992a), the Green Paper on the Urban Environment (Commission of the European Communities, 1990b).

example, CO_2 emissions became more of a policy priority, whilst congestion in urban areas became a new policy priority in the field of urban planning. As a result of these new challenges there was more need for further policy coordination, namely the awareness amongst politicians that policies had to be directed towards *sectoral integration.* This change in policy priorities is also reflected in the policy documents and research priorities (see also Geerlings and Stead, 2003). The challenge was, and as this article will show (see also section 4) still is, European transport policies are strongly influenced by the European Union institutional architecture. More exactly, a European policy agenda does not exist; the European policy results from several sectoral agendas.

3.3. The Environmental agenda; the drive to policy integration

A variety of policy documents have been published since the mid 1990s that discuss the issue of policy coordination and integration. They all stress the need for better coordination between different DGs, if EU transport policy is to be more sustainable and effective. Some documents that were directed in this period still have a sectoral focus, whilst others developed into policy-documents with a more inter-sectoral perspective (concerning sustainable transport policy documents from DG Environment for example). Selected examples of such inter-sectoral policy documents are briefly discussed here.

In terms of *transport policy* documents, the European Transport White Paper of 2001 (Commission of the European Communities, 2001a) explicitly recognizes that the concept of sustainable development[8] is central to Community policy-making. The White Paper highlights the need to integrate environmental considerations into transport policy directed by the DGs. How integration can be achieved in practice remains unclear from the document. The document also recognizes that transport policy alone is not sufficient to tackle current transport problems and advocates an integrated approach with other areas of policy-making, such as economic policy, land-use planning policy, social and education policy and competition policy. Whether this new White Paper on European Transport marks the beginning of a new phase of development of the Common Transport Policy still remains to be seen. It seems unlikely because in 2006, five years after the publication of the European Transport Paper, the European Commission issued a mid-term review (European Commission, 2006). This mid-term review assesses the progress towards the Transport White Paper's original objectives. The mid-term review maintains that the objectives of the White Paper remain valid. But the prevailing view of the Commission is clearly that transport policy should facilitate mobility, rather than manage it.

As with all European documents, the mid-term review contains the obligatory reference to the Lisbon agenda, stating that the objectives of the European transport policy are *"fully in line with the revised Lisbon Agenda for jobs and growth".*

This is also concluded by Stead (2006) who observes that despite mentioning the recently revised European Sustainable Development Strategy (Council of the European Union, 2006) which was published a few days before the mid-term review of the

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[8] The Treaty of Amsterdam (agreed by the European Union's political leaders in June 1997 and signed in October 1997) introduced the principle of sustainable development into the EU Treaty and requires that "*environmental protection requirements must be integrated into the definition and implementation of other Community policies*". It was the Stockholm meeting in 2001 that declared the concept of Sustainable Development a leading principle in policy-making by the European Commission.

Transport White Paper and the Kyoto Protocol, there is no noticeable reference to the Gothenburg Agenda.

The document was in any case not easy to produce, with consultation beginning as early as 1999, but in the end the concept of sustainable mobility became the central focal point of the White Paper as published in 2001. The term sustainable mobility refers to the need for free movement of people and goods (see section 1.2), whilst at the same time there is a need for protecting the environment and improving the health and safety of citizens. Various European *spatial planning* policy documents, such as the 1990 Green Paper on the Urban Environment (Commission of the European Communities, 1990b) and the 1996 report of the Expert Group on the Urban Environment (Expert Group on the Urban Environment, 1996) stress an integrated approach to policies for transportation too. According to the report of the Expert Group on the Urban Environment, "*the fundamental challenge is to achieve integration: integration between different levels (vertical) and between different actors in the policy process (horizontal)*". The European Commission's communication on urban policy touches on this issue and talks about engaging different levels of decision-making to achieve better policy integration (European Commission, 1997). The European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) also alludes to policy integration, recommending for example that location policy must be compatible with transport policy (European Commission, 1999).

Several recent policy documents concerning *sustainable development* focus on the issue of policy integration too. For example, the EU's Third Environmental Action Programme (1982-1986) placed integration very highly. The Fourth Programme (1987-1991) proposed developing internal procedures and practices to ensure that integration took place routinely in relation to other policy areas. The integration principle was given legislative force in the European Community by the 1986 Single European Act and was further strengthened by the Maastricht Treaty. The Treaty revision was reflected in the Fifth Environmental Action Programme (1993-2000), which shifted its focus from environmental problems to addressing the fundamental causes of environmental degradation, giving special attention to integration in five target sectors: *agriculture*, *transport*, *tourism*, *energy* and *industry*. The European strategy for Sustainable Development also calls for further integration of environmental concerns into sectoral policies (Commission of the European Communities, 2001b).

The issue of policy integration was discussed at the meeting of the 1998 European Council in Cardiff, where the council called for specific strategies for the integration of environmental concerns into three areas of policy: transport, energy and agriculture. This marked the start of what is known as the 'Cardiff Process'. Subsequent European Council meetings in 1998 and 1999 called for environmental integration strategies for other areas of council policy (internal market, industry and development in 1998; fisheries, general affairs and Ecofin in 1999). A chronology of developments in Europe on the integration of environmental issues into other areas of policy from 1990 onwards is presented in Appendix 1.

4. The 'integrated' approach in practice

4.1. The case of sustainable transportation

The transport sector is considered an important driving force contributing to the objective of the creation of a single European Market and is therefore an important element of European policy-making. As mentioned, transport policy is directed by several DGs, what makes it even more difficult to develop a single European transport policy that reflect the two already frequently competing aims of sustainability and mobility. The positive contribution of transportation to the economy makes it difficult not to strive for more mobility. There are however several side-effects that need to be addressed. Two of the major issues in this context are the energy supply and the impact of transportation on air quality. These different issues need to be addressed in a coherent way in order to be able to stimulate the development of a more sustainable transport sector.

The transport sector has been characterized over the last 3 decades by unprecedented growth. This growth can be observed in both passenger as well as freight transport. Across Europe as a whole since the mid-1990s, the growth in goods transport has been faster than economic growth, while the growth of passengers is only slightly slower than the economic growth. Projections up to 2020 indicate further growth in transport, particularly in freight transport: freight and passenger transport is predicted to increase by 52% and 35%, respectively between 2000 and 2020. This growth is unbalanced in the sense that the figures are very spectacular for air and shipping (due to globalization and containerization). Air and waterborne transport have both grown rapidly over the last decade and low-cost flights now account for 25% of all scheduled intra-EU air traffic. This unbalanced growth is a concerning trend because the growth is occurring in the faster but also more energy consuming modalities which conflicts with the aim of a more sustainable transport system in Europe.
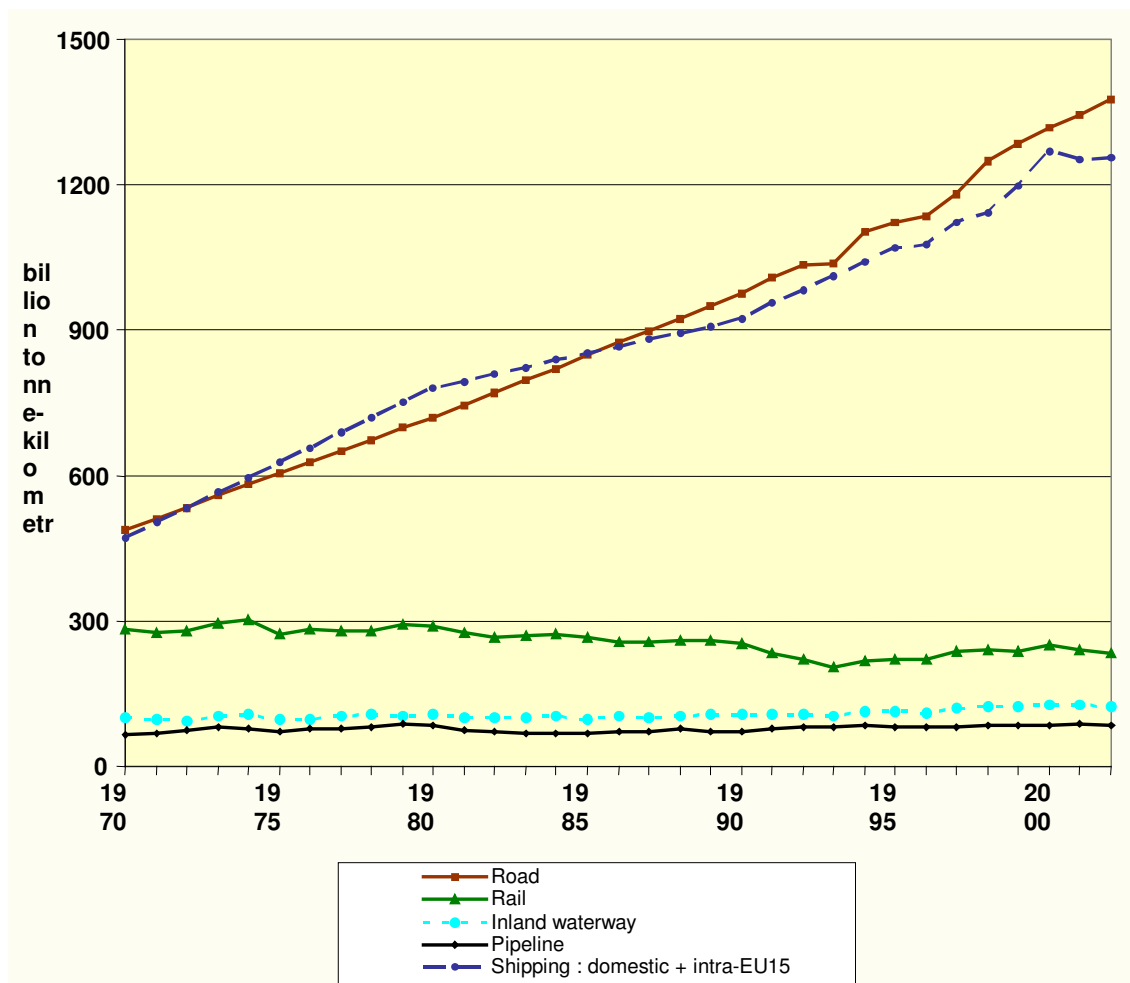
Figure 2: The growth of freight transport in the EU 25 between 1970 and 2002

The need for a *sustainable* transport system has been studied for many years and is reflected in numerous reports and policy documents. The meaning of the concept of sustainable development for the transport sector is not well-defined. There is a diversity of short-term needs and concerns, as well as the long-term goals throughout the world, suggesting that there is no universally `correct' or `wrong' sustainable development. To achieve sustainable transport, policy makers perceive trade-offs between the ostensibly conflicting needs for economic development (and consequently increasing mobility) and the global concern for the utilisation of scarce resources and the quality of the natural environment. If sustainable transport is the starting-point for environmental policy, there should be an integration of the economic and ecological objectives in which the ecological aspects could function as a limiting condition. But there seems a superficial difference in interests that creates major difficulties in practice. We will focus on the different opinions expressed from the perspectives of energy policy and air quality related to the transport sector, using two illustrations.

Illustration 1: The biomass Action Plan

The main objective of the Green paper on Energy Supply is to come to a fundamental reformulation of the existing EU energy policy. In this policy there are three central

themes: a) improvement of competitive position, b) sustainability and c) security of supply. The document is explicit about what is needed for the transport freight sector, namely an optimisation of traffic flows by satellite navigation (Galileo), stimulating inter-modality (through the Marco Polo programme) and the development of a market for clean vehicles. Related to the classification presented in section 3.2 on the instruments used by the Commission, we see that the Commission presents actions that relate to all the options available (negotiation, hierarchy and co-ordination).

At the same time there have been significant increases in greenhouse gas emissions from domestic transport since 1990 across the EU (23% growth) alongside larger increases in emissions from air transport (currently increasing at a rate of 4% per annum, which equates to an increase of almost 50% over a period of 10 years).

Here we face a new emerging political priority. Part of the answer to this challenge can be found in the need to look for alternative fuels. The Commission, therefore, published its Biomass Action Plan (2006) that has a clear relation to freight transport. The Biomass Action Plan is a direct result of the Green Paper where the need is expressed to develop a market for clean vehicles. Here we see a clear example of coordination. The transition to biofuels provides only two ways of reducing CO2:

1. focus on cleaner cars: set rules for car manufacturers
2. a transition from fossil-based fuels to biofuels

Even though there is a clear relation between energy consumption and emissions – the emissions generally increase as the fuel consumption increases – and it is accepted that there will be a scarcity of fossil fuels, there are different opinions on how to move forward.

A DG TREN (energy) representative express it thus: *"We have to look to alternative ways for fuel supply and as transport is an important sector, we are convinced that biomass is a serious option"*. At the same time a policy maker from DG Environment states *"This policy has not been discussed with us, actually we think that there are serious negative effects in terms of global trade, land-use, but there are also emissions generated during the production and by the use when it comes to combustion. So we are not convinced at all that this is the best option. Maybe for the moment, but certainly not for the longer term. But we were not heard when were critical. Economic interests prevailed."*

In this illustration we see that despite all efforts to come up with integrated policies, it is hard to realize policy integration in practice and in this case even coordination was hard to realize.

Illustration 2: The CAFE emission standards

There is also great concern about the air quality in Europe. This is expressed in the programme Clean Air For Europe (2001d). In this program the Commission tried to improve the air quality in Europe to a level on which 'no significant bad effects' are present for human health and the environment. To achieve this objective, several initiatives were announced.

- One of the initiatives is to come up with new standards, the so called CAFE (Clean Air For Europe)-standards. CAFE mainly focuses on health aspects; in 2020 the number of early deaths as a result of air pollution must be reduced by 40% compared to 2000.

- In the strategy developed from CAFE, special attention is given to particulate matter (PM) and ozone (O_3) at ground level, because these pollutants are considered most threatening to health.

Related to this there is the UNECE agreement (the so called Gothenburg Protocol) that focuses on the effects of air pollution on ecosystems.

There is also a new set of instruments presented in this context. The existing European law and policy is regulated via the Air Quality Framework Directive (and its various daughter directives) which has been merged into a single "Air Quality Directive".

The most important propositions from the Thematic Strategy and new Air Quality Directive (September 2005) will come into effect in 2010. The effectiveness of this directive is questionable and can be seen as a typical result of 'governance by negotiation' (see Section 2).

The representative of DG ENV states: *"These standards are much too soft. This is a compromise so that no Member State or even car manufacturer will experience negative consequences"*. But also the process of decision-making is criticized: *"This was a very frustrating job: too much work and no respect for all our efforts and expertise. When it comes to the point we see that DG TREN is simply not interested in environmental quality and the car manufacturers have too much influence"*.

 This is confirmed by an employee who works for DG TREN (transportation): *"Our Commissioner is not ambitious when it comes to sustainable transport. You can see it in the mid-term review of the White Paper. The previous White Paper expressed ambition, the mid-term review* (2006 authors*) gives enough arguments for stronger policies but no new measures are announced"*.

And someone from DG Research: *"This is not only illustrative for DG TREN, but for the whole Commission: enlargement has already made effective policy-making more difficult, but they are still in shock since the constitution was not accepted. You see it in FP7* (the Research Programme of the Commission authors) *as well. All efforts are checked against the Lisbon objective, but not against sustainability. At least not on an equal basis"*.

This impression is also confirmed by members of the European Parliament, where a series of policy initiatives is on its way. *"We miss leadership and vision in the present Commission* (Commission Barosso authors)*. Parliament is also ineffective when it comes to policy integration. There is simply too little turmoil and theatre in the parliament, as everything has been prepared in thematic groups, workgroups and with almost 800 members of parliament it will only get worse"*.

Quote: *"Sometimes I'm really surprised. It seems during the so-called first reading, that the parliamentarians and DGs did not communicate with each other. This was very clear with the discussion on air quality. There is the need to come up with integrated policies, but it stagnated. At best there is* **policy coordination** *between the different DGs"*.

It can be concluded that on different levels of policy-making the aim to reach a more integrated policy in the transport sector to reach a more sustainable European transport system isn't realized. This stagnation is not because the relevance of the topic isn't recognized. It is. It is caused by the existing institutional structures and the countervailing interests that are involved. The next chapter shows which countervailing interests, recent developments and internal structures are preventing a more integrated en sustainable policy in the transport sector from realizing.

5. A renaissance of sectoral policies?

We come, after analyzing the EU-policy trends over the last 40 years and a series of interviews held with representatives from the European Commission in spring 2006, to the observation that the basis for a balanced transport policy is rapidly weakening and the drive for a more integrated approach is stagnating, due to different influences.

5.1. Changing perspectives; the role of the Lisbon agreement

There has been general agreement since 2000 among policy makers (on the European level but also on the level of the individual member states) that the European economy lags behind at the global level. With the inauguration of the Commission Barosso in 2004, therefore, the Lisbon Agreement was re-nominated as the new guideline in European policy-making. The objective of the Lisbon Agreement is *"to make Europe one of the most competitive economies of the world in 2010 combined with an economic growth of 3% per annum"*.

Every new policy initiative has to be in line with this objective. There is concern that the Commission Barosso has fallen back on a single issue strategy, based on the Lisbon agreement, which has a sincere negative impact on the trend towards integrated transport policy.

Based on the series of interviews with representatives from DG Transport and Energy (TREN) it was confirmed that the current policy and future policy initiatives have to strengthen the Lisbon Strategy. As a representative from DG TREN puts it: " *Since the Lisbon Agenda and the appointment of the new commissioner (he is an economist) within TREN we have focused strongly on economic growth. It used to be different. We used to pay more attention to the concept of sustainable transport. Some attention is given to the negative external effects of transport and we will look deeper into the concept of biofuels in the near future, but there has definitely been a shift in priorities. There is a trend towards more attention on the economic benefits of transportation and growth is supported."*

This new, or maybe renewed, strategy has had its effect intra-organizationally too. It seems to have led to a profoundly negative effect on the motivation and enthusiasm in other DGs when it comes to new initiatives. Representatives from DG Environment declare that the ambitions in the field of environment are strongly tempered due to the lack of interest by the Commission in general and DG TREN in particular. This is explained by a lack of political interest in taking the concept of sustainability seriously if there is a risk that there would be trade-offs with the economic objective of the Lisbon Agreement. *"It is very difficult for us at this moment to put our opinions on the agenda. Transport costs are extremely low and this is partly the reason why transport can be seen as an engine for economic growth. I believe that as long as we do not try and find ways to take, for example, the negative external effects of transport visibly into account, it is very difficult even to find the path that leads to more sustainable ways of transport"*, says a policymaker from DG Environment.

This quote is strengthened by severe budget cuts and a lack of support from within the member states to undertake policy initiatives that might have a negative effect on economic growth[9].

As already mentioned in Section 4, in 2006, five years after the publication of the last European Transport Paper, the European Commission issued a mid-term review (European Commission, 2006). This mid-term review assesses the progress towards the Transport White Paper's original objectives. The mid-term review maintains that the objectives of the White Paper remain valid. But the prevailing view of the Commission is clearly that transport policy should facilitate mobility, rather than manage it.

The mid-term review states that the focus of transport policy needs to be revised because of a combination of emerging issues and developments like, for example, the enlargement of the European Union in 2002, recent changes in the transport industry, evolving technologies and new innovations, and energy supply and security issues. And as with all European documents, the mid-term review contains the obligatory reference to the Lisbon agenda, stating that the objectives of the European transport policy are *"fully in line with the revised Lisbon Agenda for jobs and growth"*.

This is also concluded by Stead (see section 3) who observes that there is no noticeable reference to the Gothenburg Agenda. This provides another indication of the current relative priorities of jobs, growth and sustainable development in European policy-making.

5.2. The lack of cooperation

In Section 4 the common interest of DG TREN and DG Environment in the field of biofuels is given as an example. In this case we see that within the field of transport, different DGs have different opinions on how to respond to biofuels. The interviews showed us that the path to find a common policy has not been taken. Policy maker from DG Environment state that it is very difficult even to talk to policymakers from DG TREN. *"We are not always present in cases that we can provide information about, for example in this case, the costs of land use when studying the possibilities of using biofuels. We try to make and keep in contact, but it is difficult. And we never have a corridor chat, because our building is situated in another district."*

At the time the interviews were held there was even the accusation that DG TREN is purposefully neglecting the negative external effects of transportation and that this is supported by the Commission Barosso. Since then, there is a feeling of distrust from Environment towards TREN. *"They did not use our data, but had other data that did not take everything into account and were, in our opinion, not suitable. They rather tempered the negative external effects than showing the actual picture"*, states a member of DG Environment. This lack of communication and feeling of distrust creates a barrier to more integrated policy-making. The interviewee from DG Environment states that Environment now has a deep concern for crumbling support (both policy-wise and politically) for sustainable actions to be taken in the transport sector.

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[9] In the Netherlands, 60% of the inhabitants have no trust in European policy-making, 52 % of the people are against further enlargement and 40% of the Dutch people do not perceive it as a problem if the EU was dissolved (see www.DNB.nl – outcome of a national review November 30, 2006).

5.3. Concern for the declining legitimacy of the EU

Over the last 5 years the European Commission has been confronted with important new developments that have greatly affected policy-making. Some developments are fundamental to the consequences of the enlargement challenges with which the Commission has been confronted. This is a major challenge for Europe and the Commission as it concerns the integration of 12 new countries. It requires a redefinition of European institutions and the decision-making process.

The European single market is also finding it difficult to adapt to the new challenges of other fundamental changes such as the ongoing process of globalization. Internally, due to the free movement of people (and cheap labour), there are different attitudes between the Member States when it comes to the benefits of the Lisbon Agreement and there is the rejection of the Constitution in 2006 by France and the Netherlands. And more recently by the popular vote in Ireland (2008) that demonstrates the increasing skepticism on the role of the EU. Several policymakers stated that the rejection of the constitution has led to a withdrawn of the Commission in taking initiatives. This also concerns policies in the field of sustainable transport. "*The Commission was somewhat paralyzed by the rejection of the constitution by France and the Netherlands. It's an uncertain time, where the relation between the Commission and the Member States might come to a new definition*", a policy maker of DG TREN tells us.

The internal organization also seems to hamper new developments. An employee from DG Research "*We have to attract new employees only from the new member states to reach the right quota in the number of personnel. Quality is no issue these days*". And "*We need leadership. Not only the Commission is weak, but the role of the Heads of State is too passive*". The parliamentarian: "W*e see that over time the Commission intervened in every element of society and they did not see that this was not appreciated by the people. They have lost contact. The Commission should bring down its ambition and focus on fewer, but more important issues*".

6. Conclusions

Over the last ten years there has been an increasing call for greater policy integration in European policies and related research programmes. This has come at a time when decision-making is facing increasing complexity as a result of various developments. Within the academic literature concerning the theory of policy integration various concepts and instruments are studied. These experiences have led to a new paradigm for policy-making where 3 patterns of governance can be determined, namely governance by negotiation, governance by hierarchy and governance by facilitated coordination. All three paradigms can adequately be used in understanding policy integration in practice.

The concept of policy integration is also applied in a series of policy documents published by the EU and the OECD. The European Common Transport Policy (CTP) is a recognized and strong instrument to realize the European policy objectives. A variety of policy documents have been published since the mid 1990s that discuss the issue of policy integration and stress the need for better coordination in the transport field, especially when it comes to the integration with requirements related to the operationalization of the concept of sustainability; the concept of sustainable mobility calls for further integration as it will contribute to a balanced policy that combines the

transport and economic interests, the environmental concerns and the spatial complexities.

It appears to be difficult to operationalize integration in practice. Section 2 shows the difficulties that occur in realizing policy-integration within the EU and the Member States. This is illustrated in this paper by two cases, namely the introduction of bio-fuels and the drive towards strict emission standards for Europe. There are different barriers identified. The internal difficulties relate to a different perception of the urgency of the policy objectives, a lack of shared vision between the different DGs and within the parliament, the dominance of the Lisbon Agreement and simply a lack of communication. Also the declining legitimacy of the EU among the Member States plays an important role.

The effect of the current policy making by the Commission Barosso means that the concept of sustainable development is given less attention compared to five years ago and that the objective of the Lisbon Agreement has become the dominant policy objective, at least for DG TREN, but also for the Commission as a whole. Illustrative of this is the mid-term review of the Transport White Paper (2006) that includes the statement *"mobility must be disconnected from its negative side effects"* but a proposed action list is not included and the document does not offer any new perspectives. There is discomfort in DG Environment with these direct effects of the Lisbon Agreement. The DGs had not tried, by the time this research was conducted, to overcome these different opinions by communicating the issues mentioned in this paper.

Not only the lack of communication sets back the process of policy integration. Policy makers of DG Environment mentioned there is a lack of trust as well that undermines proper communication. The integration process in the two cases we studied and discussed with the interviewees felt, due to mistrust, back to a level where co-operation (see figure 1) wasn't even practiced. Less efficient sectoral policies prevailed at the time this research was conducted and when the level of communication stays at the same level, the situation will most likely stay the same. And consequently this will lead in the near future to a more sectoral and less integrated policy concerning bio-fuels and strict emission standards for Europe.

The process is strengthened by the rejection of the European Constitution in 2006 by France and the Netherlands and leads to a feeling of declined legitimacy of the European Commission among the interviewees. The policy makers stated that this has reduced activities, also in the field of sustainable transport. The Commission has taken a few steps back and leaves the initiative often to the Member States.

We conclude that there is a development in EU policy making where the interest in policy integration is diminishing and that a severe danger has arisen that sectoral policies remain dominant again. Overall we observe a trend that the "Lisbon" objective prevails on the Gothenburg objective (i.e. "sustainable Europe") and that there is a threat that this has a negative effect on the implementation of a European sustainable transport policy. From a sustainable transport perspective the new issues that need to be addressed are definitely the greenhouse effect, security and energy supply. These are challenges where no solution is foreseen in the short-term and where the Commission can play a constructive role. Taking up these new challenges will definitely show that given the complexity of the issues, policy integration is in this context a precondition for successful new policy initiatives.

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Appendix 1. Chronology of developments in Europe on the integration of environmental issues into other areas of policy from 1990[i]

First wave: Commitment to sustainable development (early 1990s)

1991: Member States sign the Maastricht Treaty. Article 130R commits Member States to sustainable growth and policy integration. It states that 'environmental protection requirements must be integrated into the definition and implementation of other Community policies'.

1992: United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (Rio de Janeiro).

1992: Fifth Environmental Action Programme (1993-2000) gives special attention to integration in five target sectors: agriculture, transport, tourism, energy and industry.

Second wave: Strengthening of integration (mid 1990s)

1997: UN Special Session of the General Assembly (UNGASS) Rio+5 reaffirms the political commitment to achieve the Rio objectives.

1997: Member States sign the Amsterdam Treaty. Article 2 identifies sustainable development as a key task. Article 6 states that 'environmental protection requirements must be integrated into the definition and implementation of the Community policies and activities... in particular with a view to promoting sustainable development'.

1997: The European Council in Luxembourg agrees an initiative to begin the integration process and request the European Commission to develop a strategy for Cardiff.

Third wave: The Cardiff Process (late 1990s onwards)

1998: The European Council in Cardiff identifies the first round of councils to develop integration strategies and indicators (transport, energy and agriculture).

1998: The European Council in Vienna identifies the second round of councils to develop integration strategies and indicators (internal market, industry and development). The Council requests the Commission to prepare reports on the environmental appraisal of major policy proposals and indicators of integration.

1998: The European Parliament issues a resolution on integration.

1999: The European Council in Cologne identifies the third round of councils to prepare integration strategies (fisheries, Ecofin and general affairs).

1999: Adoption of the European Commission's Communication on the EU's climate change strategy.

1999: The European Council in Helsinki reviews overall progress on integrating environment and sustainable development and invites the European Commission to 'prepare a proposal for a long-term strategy dovetailing policies for economically, socially and ecologically sustainable development'.

2000: The European Council in Gothenburg agrees a strategy for sustainable development and asks that 'all major policy proposals include a sustainability impact assessment covering their potential economic, social and environmental consequences'.

2002: The European Council in Barcelona states that 'growth today must in no event jeopardise the growth possibilities of future generations... Economic, social and environmental considerations must receive equal attention in policy-making and decision taking processes'.

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[i] Based on information from the European Commission at
http://www.europa.eu.int/comm/environment/enveco/integration/integration.htm.